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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1915

THE BASES OF REPUBLICAN CONFIDENCE

BY THE EDITOR

*In idle wishes fools supinely stay;
Be there a will, and wisdom finds a way.*

—The Birth of Flattery.

WE may as well admit at the outset that the quite universal and plainly increasing confidence of Republicans with respect to the next National election is no mere "triumph of hope over experience"; it is a firm conviction. Neither leaders nor rank and file have the slightest doubt of coming success. Nor, incidentally, we are informed, if a Liberal Republican be nominated, has Mr. Roosevelt—a fact of deep significance.

What, then, are the bases of this quite unprecedented feeling of certainty which finds manifestation a full twenty months before the event? Let us engage in common counsel forthwith.

The Republican chairman insists that the results now compiled prove conclusively that, if the recent November election had been for President, his party would have won not less than 288 electoral votes—a majority of 45. President Wilson, on the other hand, in his speech in Indianapolis, interpreted the figures as showing a Democratic majority of "about 80." Both seem to have erred. Putting aside all guesses and deductions, the votes actually polled for Senators and Congressmen are recorded upon the following pages.

STATES CARRIED BY REPUBLICANS ON NATIONAL ISSUES

	ELECTORAL VOTE	1914				1912			
		REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	PROGRESSIVE	TAFT	WILSON	ROOSEVELT		
Connecticut.....	7 S	89,983	76,081	6,853	68,324	74,561	34,129	8,886	
Delaware.....	3 C	22,922	20,681	1,653	15,998	22,631	25,527	386,478	
Idaho.....	4 S	47,486	41,266	10,321	32,810	33,921	405,048	161,819	
Illinois.....	29 S	390,661	373,403	203,027	253,613	405,048	185,325	120,123	
Iowa.....	13 S	205,832	167,251	15,058	119,805	143,670	173,408	214,584	
Kansas.....	10 S	180,323	176,929	116,755	74,844	155,948	106,426	125,856	
Massachusetts.....	18 C	222,840	189,197	30,118	152,244	150,751	17,794	145,410	
Michigan.....	15 C	218,445	147,262	47,700	64,334	106,426	34,724	17,794	
Minnesota.....	12 C	180,482	87,305	24,737	88,835	178,289	8,347	390,021	
New Hampshire.....	4 S	42,111	36,382	1,938	32,927	34,724	17,794	145,410	
New Jersey.....	14 C	179,930	167,511	15,400	88,835	178,289	8,347	390,021	
New Mexico.....	3 C	23,812	19,805	1,695	17,733	20,437	25,726	229,327	
New York.....	45 S	639,112	571,419	61,977	455,428	655,475	390,021	447,426	
North Dakota.....	5 S	48,732	29,640	2,707	23,090	29,555	25,726	229,327	
Ohio.....	24 S	526,115	423,742	67,509	277,066	423,152	229,327	447,426	
Pennsylvania.....	38 S	519,830	266,436	269,175	273,305	395,619	16,878	24,174	
Rhode Island.....	5 C	38,801	35,186	1,321	27,703	30,142	16,878	24,174	
Utah.....	4 S	56,281	53,128	.....	42,100	36,579	22,070	113,698	
Vermont.....	4 C	36,980	13,685	9,545	23,305	15,350	113,698	79,112	
Washington.....	7 S	130,479	91,733	83,282	70,445	86,840	113,698	79,112	
West Virginia.....	8 C	111,387	102,223	8,605	56,754	113,197	9,232	2,748,845	
Wyoming.....	3 C	21,363	17,246	1,308	14,560	15,310	2,748,845	3,330,410	
Total.....	275	3,933,907	3,107,511	980,684	2,341,171	3,330,410	2,748,845	3,330,410	

STATES CARRIED BY DEMOCRATS ON NATIONAL ISSUES

	ELECTORAL VOTE	1914	1912	ROOSEVELT
		DEMOCRAT	WILSON	
		REPUBLICAN	TAFT	
		PROGRESSIVE		
Alabama.....	12	12,320	9,731	22,689
Arizona.....	3	9,183	3,021	6,949
California.....	13	254,159	3,914	283,436
Colorado.....	6	98,728	255,232	283,610
Indiana.....	15	226,505	27,072	114,223
Kentucky.....	13	144,758	107,027	72,306
Maine.....	6	60,318	14,108	162,007
Maryland.....	8	94,864	17,958	102,766
Missouri.....	18	257,056	26,545	51,113
Montana.....	4	26,161	54,956	112,674
Nebraska.....	8	110,839	207,821	330,746
North Carolina.....	12	87,095	18,512	27,941
Arkansas.....	9	11,222	54,216	22,456
Florida.....	6	.....	29,139	72,689
Georgia.....	14	.....	24,297	69,130
Louisiana.....	10	205,652	4,279	21,673
Mississippi.....	10	40,545	5,190	4,535
South Carolina.....	9	36,060	3,834	22,010
Tennessee.....	12	32,950	1,511	60,966
Texas.....	20	149,193	536	57,164
Virginia.....	12	173,177	59,444	48,355
Wisconsin.....	13	58,320	28,853	130,335
Nevada.....	3	134,221	23,288	221,589
Oklahoma.....	10	8,038	210	90,332
Oregon.....	5	73,153	130,878	164,409
South Dakota.....	5	88,220	3,196	58,661
		44,244	90,786	7,986
		.....	34,673	119,156
		.....	.....	47,064
		.....	.....	48,942
Total.....	256	2,847,138	1,143,785	2,962,609
Grand total.....	531	5,954,649	3,484,956	4,119,507

Republican majority of electoral vote, 19.

Democratic plurality of popular vote, 210,976.

S. Popular vote for Senator.

C. Total vote for Congressmen.

Chairman Hilles attains his result by transferring Wisconsin's 13 votes from the Democrats to the Republicans upon the ground that, although a Democratic Senator was elected by a few hundred as a consequence of "local conditions," the total Republican majority for Congressmen exceeded 40,000.

President Wilson reached his conclusion by "taking the States where Senators were elected and, where Senators were not elected, taking the election of Governors and, where Governors were not elected, taking the returns for the State Legislatures, or for the Congressional delegates." Ignoring the vote for State legislators, which seems rather far-fetched, and substituting the vote for Governor, wherever one was chosen, for the vote for Senator or Congressman given in the above tabulation, we find that—

DEMOCRATS	GAIN	LOSE	REPUBLICANS	GAIN	LOSE
Idaho.....	4	..	..	..	4
Massachusetts.....	18	..	..	..	18
Michigan.....	15	..	..	..	15
Minnesota.....	12	..	..	..	12
West Virginia.....	8	..	..	..	8
Wyoming.....	3	..	..	..	3
California.....	..	13	..	..	..
Colorado.....	..	6	..	6	..
Oregon.....	..	5	..	5	..
South Dakota.....	..	5	..	5	..
Wisconsin.....	..	13	..	13	..
	60	42		29	60

Net Democratic gain, 18. Net Republican loss, 31. Progressive gain (California), 13.

ELECTORAL VOTE UPON THIS BASIS

Democrats, 274. Republicans, 244. Progressives, 13.—531.

Democratic plurality, 30. Democratic majority, 17.

Assuming, as we fear we must, that the vote on National issues affords the better criterion, the question immediately arises: Can the Republicans reasonably expect to hold the twenty-two States, carrying 275 electoral votes, which they won in November? That the shrewdest of them honestly think so there can be no doubt. Indeed, they feel equally certain that they can abstract from the Democratic column Colorado (6), Maine (6), Oregon (5), South Dakota (5), and Wisconsin (13), making a grand total of 310 and affording a clear majority of nearly one hundred electoral votes. Clearly, however, this calculation would be upset if President Wilson should

succeed in winning over the remaining Progressives who still hold the balance of power in Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, Idaho, and Washington. For ourselves, we have reached only the negative conclusion that whichever party loses New York is likely to lose the election. But so far as the actual results of November, 1914, are concerned, it was a drawn battle, leaving the Democrats slightly ahead in the popular vote and slightly behind in prospects relating to the choice of electors.

We come now to consideration of the political effect of the President's speech in Indianapolis from which the Republicans profess to have derived no little satisfaction. The common assumption that this deliverance signalized Mr. Wilson's purpose to become a candidate for re-election may be ignored. Whatever warrant the audience may have had for drawing such an inference from his remark to the effect that "there may come a time when the American people will have a chance to say whether I know what I am talking about or not," was dissipated instantly by his quick disavowal of intent to "start anything." Subsequently, moreover, he made it quite clear that he had in mind no more than a prospective verdict upon the achievements of the Democratic party under his leadership.

That Mr. Wilson will make his attitude with respect to a renomination known at no distant day may be assumed with surety. So much he owes to his party no less than to other possible candidates who now courteously await an expression of his desire; but none knows better than Mr. Wilson himself that such a declaration necessarily involves interpretation of the second-term provision in the Democratic platform and, to be truly effective, must be explicit, not casual or inferential, and buttressed by sound and sufficient reasoning.

That he should seek to win popular favor in his first political utterance addressed directly to the people was but natural and no more than his duty, but his real purposes clearly were: (1) To justify the Administration; (2) To confound his enemies within and without his party; and (3) To indicate a definite purpose to appeal to the great body of Independents and Progressives for support in the forthcoming National campaign. The speech was in effect a call to combat, and the challenge was accepted promptly by Senator William E. Borah, the most forceful spokesman of the opposition and, as the foremost Liberal Republican now living, a most promising candidate for the Presidential nomination. This makes for an in-

teresting contrast at the very beginning of a campaign which bids fair to find a high place in our political history.

The President spoke first as a militant partisan. "If I was not ready to fight for everything I believe in," he began, "I would think it my duty to go and take a back seat." He continued:

The trouble with the Republican party is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as a historian. I have looked for new ideas in the records and I have not found any proceeding from the Republican ranks. They have had leaders from time to time who suggested new ideas, but they never did anything to carry them out. I suppose there was no harm in their talking, provided they could not do anything. Therefore, when it was necessary to say that we have talked about things long enough which it was necessary to do, and the time had come to do them, it was indispensable that a Democrat should be elected President.

I would not speak with disrespect of the Republican party. I always speak with great respect of the past. The past was necessary to the present, and was a sure prediction of the future. The Republican party is still a covert and refuge for those who are afraid, for those who want to consult their grandfathers about everything. You will notice that most of the advice taken by the Republican party is taken from gentlemen old enough to be grandfathers; and that when they claim that a reaction has taken place, they react to the re-election of the oldest members of their party. They will not trust the youngsters. They are afraid the youngsters might have something up their sleeve.

Senator Borah resented this as "a virulent attack upon one of the great political parties of the Nation," not only challenging "the wisdom of the leaders," but also assailing "the intelligence and the patriotism of its rank and file." Denying that the Republican party had "not had a new idea in thirty years," he instanced the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, of the Sherman Anti-trust Act in 1893, of the Anti-rebate Act and proceeded:

We created a Bureau of Commerce and Labor, afterward passing what is known as the pure-food law, of incalculable value to all the people, the postal-savings law, the parcel-post law, the physical valuation of railroads law, the employer's liability law, the law limiting the hours of service of railroad men, compensation for injuries to Government employees, the child-labor law for the District of Columbia, the Children's Bureau was established, publicity of campaign funds provided for, eight hours a day for Government employees and under

Government contracts provided for, a law requiring the railroads to report accidents provided for, the boiler-inspection law, the Bureau of Mines established, the amendment of the Constitution providing for an income tax, the election of Senators by popular vote—and so on *ad infinitum*, dealing with each particular subject as it arose. Dealing with them sanely, safely, progressively, permanently.

Then finally we passed that bill which has been so often criticized by the opposition, known as the Vreeland-Aldrich Act, dealing with the finances of the country. I call your attention to the fact, my friends, that when the crisis came a few months ago, and the European situation brought to us a condition unexpected, it was under the Vreeland-Aldrich Act that you proceeded to protect the credit and the business interests of this country. We had months before passed the Federal reserve bank Act, but it was not called into activity; it was not put into operation. It was not tested in that crisis, but when the crisis came it was permitted to remain idle while the Vreeland-Aldrich Act was the act under which we proceeded to pass the shoals and pitfalls of those first days of the European crisis. While we did so the Federal reserve bank Act lay—huge, cumbersome, bulky, expensive—cast upon the shore of the legislative sea like some antediluvian mastodon, not quite live enough for the menagerie and not quite dead enough for the operating table of the taxidermist; designed apparently for the Federal Treasury, but apparently on its way to the Smithsonian Institution.

When it is recalled further that, while the new Banking law was finally enacted by the Democrats, its genesis was Republican and the “idea” from which it was developed was hatched in the brain of Grandfather Nelson W. Aldrich, the difficulty of finding warrant for the President’s assertion that he spoke “not as a politician, but as an historian” becomes quite painfully apparent. Why Mr. Borah refrained from contrasting the relative advantages to the country of lawmaking by grandfathers and youngsters can only be imagined; possibly because he felt abashed at being only forty-nine years old, while the President, at fifty-eight, was welcoming his first grandson. But let us pass on.

After having admitted with commendable frankness that each of the big parties is a minority and dependent for success upon the favor of the unattached, the President evinced a most cordial and sympathetic regard for independent voters, saying:

I am not an independent voter, but I hope I can claim to be an independent person, and I want to say this distinctly. I do not love any party any longer than it continues to serve the immediate and pressing needs of America. I have been bred in the Democratic party;

I love the Democratic party, but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic party. And when the Democratic party thinks that it is an end in itself, then I rise up and dissent. It is a means to an end, and its power depends, and ought to depend, upon its showing that it knows what America needs and is ready to give it what it needs. That is the reason I say to the independent voter, you have got us in the palm of your hand. I do not happen to be one of your number, but I recognize your supremacy, because I read the election returns, and I have this ambition, my Democratic friends—I can avow it on Jackson Day: I want to make every independent voter in this country a Democratic voter. It is a little cold and lonely out where he is, because, though he holds the balance of power, he is not the majority, and I want him to come in where it is warm. I want him to come where there are great emotions.

To this Senator Borah made no response. Possibly he considered accurate definitions injudicious at a time when Republican candidates are wondering just how "independent" it is desirable to be, or even to have been. Or it may be that he doubted his ability to compete with Mr. Wilson in conjuring up overpowering emotions for use upon occasion. In any case, he awaited elucidation, which forthcame—if we may use the President's own term as applied to Grandfather Andrew Jackson—forthrightly. It appears that the one thing Mr. Wilson has "a great, almost a reckless, enthusiasm about" is "human liberty," especially at this particular time in Mexico. His heart still beats loudly for the 80 per cent. of submerged peons who have never had a "look-in" and he hopes that "God may speed them in getting it."

"That," he continued, "is what I mean by a great emotion, the great emotion of sympathy. Do you suppose that the American people are ever going to count a small amount of material benefit and advantage to people doing business in Mexico against the liberties and the permanent happiness of the Mexican people? Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilt as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak? No, I say. I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says, 'This country, which we could crush, shall have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have. If I am strong I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people.' And I know when I speak these things, not merely from the gracious response with which they have just met from you, but from my long-time knowl-

edge of the American people, that that is the sentiment of the American people."

While frankly confessing our inability to comprehend this extraordinary blending of emotion and cynicism, it is perhaps explicable as an attempt at excuse for failure of a policy when compared with this, which follows:

With all due respect to editors of great newspapers, I have to say to them I never take my opinion of the American people from their editorials. So that when some great dailies not very far from where I am temporarily residing thundered with rising scorn at watchful waiting, Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last; knowing, in short, what were the temper and principles of the American people.

The time may come when we shall venture to surmise the aspiration which induced this curious self-delineation, but for the moment a sense of bewilderment is overwhelming. We quote again from Senator Borah:

The President now says that we are to let Mexico alone. How unfortunate that that was not the policy from the beginning. I think if he had said in the beginning that we were to let Mexico alone, he would have been in an almost impregnable position. All that needed to have been added to that to make a perfect policy would have been that Mexico should respect the rights of American citizens and of foreigners living in that country. Let them settle their own form of government, let them elect whom they would, let them have a despotism or a republic, according as they lived up to the one or the other, and that we would recognize whatever form of government they established, always adding the proposition that, whether it was one form of government or another, the rights and the lives of American citizens should be protected thereunder.

But we did go to Mexico, Mr. President. What did we go for? What were we at Vera Cruz about? What were the results of the expedition? The first result was that we killed 200 Mexicans; the second result was that we lost 19 of our own men. We were at war with Mexico. Had we killed one English subject or one German subject or one subject of France, there would have been no doubt about our being at war with that country. The only reason it did not take on all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war" was the fact that the country with which we were at war was unable to respond against the powerful enemy who had entered its borders. Not only did we intervene when we declared against Huerta, but we were at war when blood was shed upon the soil of Vera Cruz. That was the first result.

The second result of our going there was the destruction of the only semblance of government which they had in Mexico.

The third thing which we did in connection with it is one which

may have far-reaching consequences in the future, and that is, we notified foreign nations that they must keep hands off of Mexico, that they must not build up or give sustenance and support to Huerta or to any form of government. The result of it was that we assumed the responsibility morally, if not legally, for the injuries which flowed from that time on to those foreign powers or to their nationals by reason of the acts or of the conduct of the warring factions of Mexico.

Then we assumed further, Mr. President, at that time to reform the land laws of Mexico. So we did not let Mexico alone.

What is the situation in Mexico to-day? Mr. President, the situation in Mexico to-day is indescribable. We have no conception of it. I doubt if it would be possible to conceive a proper measurement of the condition of affairs in Mexico unless we were there, but we know that it is as bad as it could possibly be in a civilized or semi-civilized community. We know that over 250 of our own citizens have from time to time been murdered; we know that countless others have been injured in different ways and have no apparent remedy or redress.

Now, sir, when a condition of affairs exists in Mexico such as the civilized world has seldom witnessed and Republicans rise to express their views as to what shall be done, the answer which we get from the public rostrum of the country by the Chief Magistrate of the Nation is practically, in the language of Barère, that the revolution in Mexico shall be permitted to float in upon seas of blood and that the man who questions the course of revolution in Mexico is to be suspected before the American people!

Mr. President, speaking for myself, I am desirous of peace with Mexico; I want no war; and I know we shall never take any part of the territory of that Republic; but above and beyond that, and more important to my mind, is the fact that we should at least protect our own citizenship, securing our women against ravishment and our men from murder at the hands of those ferocious men who prey upon our nationals wherever they find them in their territory. There are some things which are dearer to me than peace. I do know this, Mr. President, that no nation ever retains respect among the other nations of the earth, or long maintains the consideration of other powers, that does not protect its citizens and the honor of its women and prevent them from being ravished and murdered even upon its very door-steps.

We make no comment now upon this utterance; we merely place it beside the President's declaration, for comparison and judgment as to both relative merit and possible political consequences.

Senator Borah expressed regret that the President should have made a partisan speech "at a time when this country had sore need of united wisdom and patriotism to deal with those matters which have been rendered delicate by reason of foreign conditions"; resented his seeming insistence that Senators

should accept his judgment without question or regard for their own convictions; deplored Democratic extravagance; quoted freely from Mr. Wilson's book on Constitutional Government, etc., etc.; greatly to the satisfaction of his Republican colleagues. With these outgivings, however telling, we need not concern ourselves. The real quality of Senator Borah's argument is indicated sufficiently by the excerpts presented above. Let us glance now along the whole fighting-line.

The points of presumed weakness in the Democratic line-up selected by the coaches of the Republican team as likely to prove most vulnerable may be summarized as follows:

Depression of business.—Despite the hopefulness manifested by financiers with respect to the future, the Republican leaders insist that prosperity is yet afar off; that the existing stagnation, 18,280 commercial failures compiled by Bradstreet's for 1914, mark a new high record in sharp contrast with the reiterated assertions of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor; that the existing stagnation is as far from being "a state of mind" as the depression of six months ago is proven by this result to have been "psychological"; and that in only a few lines of manufacturing can improvement be anticipated as a consequence of the war. That there is no limit to the foreign demand for war material is admitted, but, it is urged, the present capacity of factories is already overtaxed and cannot be increased except through the construction of huge new plants, possibly in contravention of the Administration's conception of neutrality, and in any case impossible of material accomplishment before November, 1916.

Prospective bankruptcy of the Treasury.—This is fully anticipated as a consequence of declining revenues and increased appropriations, as indicated by the Treasury report of January 8, 1915, as follows:

Income of fiscal year to date.....	\$319,609,606.02
Income last year to same date.....	354,867,122.21
Decrease in income.....	\$ 35,257,516.19
Outgo of fiscal year to date.....	\$401,798,001.15
Outgo last year to same date.....	390,892,111.52
Increase of outgo.....	\$ 10,905,889.63
Outgo over income this year.....	\$ 82,188,395.13
Outgo over income last year.....	36,024,989.31
Decrease in surplus.....	\$ 46,163,405.82

The Treasury estimate, submitted at the opening of Congress, of \$1,090,775,154, or \$18,000,000 less than the preceding year, is pronounced fictitious evidence of economy for political effect, since the "supplemental" estimates already aggregate \$44,000,000 exclusive of \$30,000,000 proposed for an omnibus public bill, \$14,000,000 already made available in the Urgent Deficiency Bill and a possible appropriation of \$30,000,000 for the purchase of ships. To the suggestion that partial relief may be obtained through the sale of Panama bonds the reply is made that the bonds pay only 3 per cent. and, since they do not have the circulating privilege, and cannot under the law be sold for less than par, could not possibly find a market at this time.

Government ownership of ships.—This proposal, although fathered by the Secretary of the Treasury and warmly espoused by the President, has found little public favor. It will be attacked as un-Democratic, as a plain subsidy, as a deterrent of private investment in competition with the Government which avows its intention to transact business at a loss; as advantageous only to shipbuilders and possibly to owners of interned German ships; and as perilous to the maintenance of peace with foreign nations. To the President's declaration that the scheme is necessary as a temporary measure to enable producers to reach markets the answer is made that inadequate transportation is due, not to dearth of ships, but to lack of pier facilities, long-shoremen, and other helpers in foreign ports, as indicated by the fact that fifty-six ships at London and fifty-four at Genoa were at the latest report awaiting turn to be unloaded. The President's accusation of excessive rates being charged is met with the assertion that the great delay caused by these conditions necessitates extra remuneration and by reference to the fact that the present price of wheat is the highest ever known. The Bill will probably succumb in this session to the determination of Republican Senators and the indisposition of Democrats headed by Mr. Vardaman. It is thought that the Administration must then suffer from facing the alternative of acknowledging defeat or calling an extra session.

Mexico.—If the warring factions and bloodthirsty bandits who now are despoiling their country shall soon heed the admonition of the President to unite in noble endeavor to establish a just Government with the consent and under the direction of the great majority of common people, the triumph of the Administration's policy will be so overwhelming as to confound

its critics. If not, the issue inevitably will be whether the United States owes it to her citizens to protect their lives and properties abroad as well as at home, or has no obligation beyond the shouting of *caveat emptor* to all who so far forget themselves as to cross the border line. In any case, it is quite evident, from the impassioned utterances of Senators Lodge and Root and Borah, that the Republican team has yet to be convinced that the President's chuckle at the prospect of laughing last is fully warranted by his intuitive knowledge of "the temper and principles of the American people."

National defense.—It is perhaps but natural that the Republicans should feel that, as a unit for preparedness, they possess an advantage over political antagonists whose views are diversified.

The Colombia treaty.—Whether or not an apology should be made to Colombia, accompanied by a payment of \$25,000,000 for the loss of Panama, is beside the political mark. It suffices for the Republicans to know that the mere proposal has alienated Mr. Roosevelt and his considerable personal following so completely that the Administration cannot hope for support or co-operation from that source upon any conceivable grounds.

The diplomatic service.—The mortification of Republicans at the unexpected efficiency demonstrated by our representatives in Europe is mitigated by the common judgment that the most useful services were rendered and the most notable success was achieved by the Republican Ambassador who was retained in France long after his successor was appointed. It is also regarded as certain that such of the independent voters as are devoted to civil-service reform will not be attracted by the appointments to South America and may view the proceedings in San Domingo with aversion as a violation of trust.

Sectionalism.—Republican leaders are well aware of the danger of playing with fire, but they will have difficulty in quenching the flame which leaped forth in New England when a leading journal asked bitterly if twenty dead men would have been branded as "conspirators" in Texas, as they were branded in Massachusetts and Connecticut, while three sons of the Lone Star State were sitting in the Cabinet and another was acting as the intimate adviser of the President.

Woman suffrage.—Final relegation of this subject to the States, it is believed, will deprive the Democrats of an issue which Mr. Bryan surely would have espoused as an appeal for

the ninety-one electoral votes easily controlled by women if they should act as a unit.

The colored vote.—No doubt is felt that segregation at Washington will hold every negro in the Republican ranks—a fact, if it be a fact, of no little importance in States like Ohio, Indiana, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts.

Such, in brief, are some of the bases of Republican confidence. There are others of a more definitely political nature, embracing the universal disgust with Mr. Daniels, the quite common doubt of Mr. Bryan's efficiency as an executive, the propriety of Mr. McAdoo remaining in the Treasury as a son-in-law, the alienation of three at least of the ablest Democratic Senators, the disaffection of the so-called Clark Democrats who have not been accorded recognition, the seeming dissatisfaction of the chairman and other members of the National Committee, and so on; but these are family affairs forbidden to intermeddlers.

Most satisfying of all to the Republicans is the reflection that they have a team, while the Democrats have only a Captain—a great Captain, to be sure, bold from his sense of power, firm in his resolute aloofness, sure of the justice of his cause—yet but one against so many and so strong.

So the President, in a speech which must be pronounced ill-timed and ill-judged, resembling nothing more closely than the traditionally putative effort of a tenor to sing bass, turns to the people. In them he has implicit confidence.

But that is not the question. Quite the contrary, we should say.